

special
collections

DOUGLAS
LIBRARY

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA



T H E
R I G H T
O F
BRITISH SUBJECTS,
To PETITION and APPLY to their
REPRESENTATIVES,
ASSERTED and VINDICATED.

*In a LETTER to ******

It is only our not being either afraid or ashamed to appear in Defence of Liberty, which will give any of us a Title to be ranked amongst Those, who are, or design to be, thought Lovers of it; and not the adhering to vain and empty Names, when the Pretenders of them have manifestly departed from those Principles, which first gave them their Esteem and Respect amongst their Fellow-Labourers in this glorious Cause, and pursue those Practices, which have in all Ages been constantly opposed by the Assertors of Liberty and Lovers of their Country. State of the National Debt.

L O N D O N:

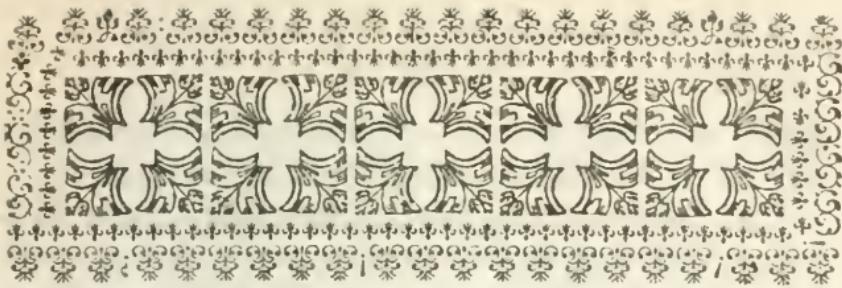
Printed for M. Smith near the Exchange.

M DCC XXXIII.

(Price 6 d.)

3032302

AC911.1733.R53



T H E
R I G H T
O F
BRITISH SUBJECTS,

To Petition and Apply to their REPRESENTATIVES, asserted and vindicated. In a LETTER.

To _____

SIR,



Was extremely surprised at the Declaration you made, when we were last together. I little expected you could for any Consideration, either at present, or in Expectancy, have treated the late Resolutions and Request of the Citizens, Merchants and Traders to their Representatives in the Manner you did. If the Proceedings of these Gentlemen are not in every Respect justifiable, I am at a Loss what Steps any Number of Persons are to be permitted to take, whenever they apprehend that the Trade and Manufactures, as well as the Liberty of the whole Kingdom are

likely to be *affectèd* by any Scheme or Proposal intended to be offered to a House of Commons.

I am so concerned at your Conduct, that I cannot refrain expostulating with you in this publick Manner on the Occasion; which I chuse to do, not because I think it will be a Means of inducing you to alter your Measures in promoting a Scheme, in which I am assured you have *imbarked* your self; but to shew, that so far is there from being any Foundation from what you lay down that, on the contrary, the *Subjects* have a *Right* to petition the King, or either House of Parliament, and the *Electors* a Right to make *Application* to their Representatives. This is a Mattter as certain and as little to be contested as any Thing in our Histories or Statute Books, which relates to the Preservation of the Constitution of our Government.

I have hitherto esteemed you a *Whig*, a Man of *Principle*, one passionately devoted to promote the publick Good and the common Service of your Country. One, who believed that Kings were instituted for the Good of the People, and Government ordained for the Sake of Those, who are to be governed; and that *Britons* have a *Right* to complain as well as to be heard, whenever any Thing is in Question, which they conceive, if rendered effectual, "will prejudice the *Trade*, *Manufactures* " and *Navigation* of the Kingdom, or indanger " the *Liberty* and *Property* of the Subjects of " *Great Britain*.

I hope you will excuse me if I think otherwise of you than I have formerly done, and if hereafter I look upon you to be guided by Interest, and an *Apostate* from those Principles, to which is owing not only the *Revolution*, conducted by the glorious and immortal King *William*, but the Settlement

Settlement of the *Protestant Succession* in the House of *Hanover* by the Act of Parliament in his Reign.

Principles only are to be regarded and not Men. The one are eternally the same, the other are almost constantly changing; and he only can make a true Judgment in the Consideration of any Matter, who regards Things and not Persons. Upon this Principle I readily approve what Mr. *Osborne*, alias *Socrates*, lays down, "that it seems reasonable that Men, who have no Property, but are absolutely at the Will of another, should have no Votes for Representatives in Parliament. Nor indeed have they, in Effect, Votes; for being at the Will and in the Power of another, they must vote as he would have them;" and am extremely pleased with the Justness of a Quotation by Mr. *D'Anvers*, "that *France* was once upon a right Foot, in Relation to its Liberties; for that they, who peruse their Histories, will find that arbitrary Power did not so much bring in high Taxes, as high Taxes introduced arbitrary Power; for when that golden Idol of an immense Revenue was set up, all the Nation bow'd to it.

I say, I approve what is said by Mr. *Osborne*, and am pleased with what is quoted by Mr. *D'Anvers*, though it is very well known one is a ministerial and the other an anti-ministerial Writer. But I am greatly displeased when I hear Persons, of known *Affection* to his Majesty's Person and Government, represented as *Enemies* to both, because they are determined, with great Numbers of their Fellow-Subjects, as well as Fellow-Citizens, Merchants and Traders, "with the utmost Unanimity, and by all dutiful and lawful Methods, strenuously to oppose any new *Excise* or Extension of the *Excise Laws* under whatever Name or Pretence it may be attempted. This

This is very extraordinary Treatment of a Body of Men, who, I am sure, ought to be *cherished* and *esteemed* as the most *useful* and most *beneficial* of any of his Majesty's Subjects, and who neither seek or expect any Posts or Preferments, and have no other Thing in View, by opposing the intended Scheme, but to preserve their *Trade* and *Liberty*, and quietly to *reap* the *Fruits* of their *honest Industry*; and who have not, in any *Step* they have taken, done any thing either *undutifully* or *illegally*, or which they are not fully *justify'd* in by the *Precedents* of former Times.

I have turned over some of my Books since your Declaration and find that as it is our unquestionable Right, so in all Ages the Usage has been, by *Petition*, to inform our Kings of our Grievances.

In the Reign of *Edward II.* and *Edward III.* Petitions were frequent for Redress of publick Grievances, and for Parliaments.

In the 5th Year of King *Richard II.* the whole Body of the Realm petitioned, *that the most wise and able Men within the Realm might be chosen Counsellors.*

King *Henry VIII.* told his Subjects, then in Arms against him in Yorkshire, *that they ought not to have rebell'd, but to have apply'd themselves to him by Petition.*

King *James I.* by a Proclamation published in the 12th Year of his Reign, begins thus, "The Complaint lately exhibited to us by certain Noblemen and others of our Kingdom of *Ireland*, suggesting Disorders and Abuses, as well in the Proceedings of the late begun Parliament, as in the martial and civil Government of the Kingdom, we did receive with extraordinary Grace and Favour.

And

And by another Proclamation, in the twelfth Year of his Reign, he declares, " That it was " the Right of his Subjects to make their immediate Addresses to him by Petition." And in the 19th Year of his Reign he invites them to it.

In the 20th Year of his Reign he tells his People, " That his own and the Ears of his Privy Council did still continue open to the just Complaints of his People, and that they were not confined to Time and Meetings in Parliament, nor restrained to particular Grievances, not doubt ing but that his loving Subjects would apply themselves to his Majesty for Relief, to the utter abolishing of all those private Whisperings and causeless Rumours, which without giving his Majesty any Opportunity of Reformation by particular Knowledge of any Fault, serve to no other Purpose but to occasion and blow abroad Discontent.

It appears by the Journal 1640, that the House of Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, *Nemine Contradicente*, voted Thanks to those Lords, who petitioned the King at York to call a Parliament; and the King, by his Declaration printed in the same Year, declares his Royal Will and Pleasure, " that all his loving Subjects, who have any just Cause to present or complain of any Grievances or Oppressions, may freely address themselves, by their humble Petitions to his sacred Majesty, who will graciously hear their Complaints.

Soon after the *Restauration*, the Inhabitants of the County of Bucks made a *Petition*, that their Country might not be overrun with the King's Deer; and the same was done by the County of Surrey on the like Occasion.

In the same Reign many *Cities*, *Counties* and *Boroughs* petition'd his Majesty for the calling and the

the sitting of a Parliament for the *Redress of Grievances*, and to *preserve* the Religion and Liberties of the People of *England*; to confirm which, it may be necessary to give the following Extract from a Book entitled *An exact Collection of the Debates of the House of Commons, held at Westminster October 21, 1689.*

Sir GILBERT GERRARD.

“ I crave Leave to mind you of a great Infringement, which hath been made of the Liberty of the Subject since the last Session of Parliament. Sir, many good Protestants thinking it very strange that two Parliaments should be dissolved without doing any Thing material against Popcry, and a Third so often prorogued in a Time of such imminent Danger; and foreseeing the Ruin such Delays might bring upon them, resolved to petition his Majesty; and accordingly, in several Counties and Corporations, Petitions, humbly praying his Majesty to let the Parliament sit, were drawn up and sign'd by many Thousands of his Majesty's good Subjects, in a peaceable and quiet Way, and deliver'd to his Majesty by no greater Number of Persons than is allow'd. But although this was conformable to Law, and the Duty of good Subjects, considering what Danger his Majesty's Person and the Protestant Religion was in, yet it was traduced by his Majesty as *seditious* and *tumultuous* and forbidden by a Proclamation, and great Affronts and Discouragements given to such, as either promoted or delivered the said Petitions; and at last several Persons, in many Places, were set up to declare, at the Assizes and other

" other publick Places, an *Abhorrency* and *Detestation* of such Petitioning.

" Sir, I humbly conceive the Subjects of England have an undoubted Right to petition his Majesty for the sitting of Parliaments and redressing of Grievances, and that considering the Circumstances we are under, we have no Reason to lose it. If it should be our Unhappiness to have a Popish King, may he not be surrounded with Popish Counsellors, so as that poor Protestant Subjects may be debarr'd of all other Ways whatsoever of making known their Complaints to him, and must we lose this too? Sir, I think it so necessary and material a Privilege of the Subject, as that we ought, without Loss of Time, to assert our Rights to it; and therefore I humbly move you to make some Votes to that Purpose.

Sir FRANCIS WINNINGTON.

Mr. Speaker. Sir,

" **I** Am not only of Opinion with that worthy Member that spoke last, as to making a Vote for asserting the Right of the Subject to petition their Prince, but also for chastizing Those, who have been so wicked and abominable as to trounce it and abhor it. And to that Purpose, I think, Sir, it will be convenient that we find out who advised or drew that Proclamation against it, and examine how a Petition, that was made in Berkshire, was ordered to be taken off the File at a Quarter Sessions, if worthy to be call'd so, there being but four Justices of the Peace, and two of them such obscure Persons as I cannot get their Names. And so make some Inspection into those Addresses, that have been

" made against Petitioning, and by whom contri-
 " ved, sign'd, or deliver'd. But this must be a
 " Work of Time; for the present I humbly move
 " you to pass one Vote to assert the *Right* of the
 " Subject to *petition* the King; another of Cen-
 " sure on those Persons that have traduc'd it, and
 " appoint a Committee for your farther proceeding
 " herein.

Resolved, " *That it is, and ever hath been the*
 " *undoubted Right of the Subjects of England to*
 " *petition the King for the calling and sitting of*
 " *Parliaments, and redressing of Grievances.*

Resolved, " *That to traduce such petitioning as*
 " *a Violation of Duty, and to represent it to his*
 " *Majesty as tumultuous or seditious, is to betray*
 " *the Liberty of the Subject, and contributes to the*
 " *Design of subverting the antient, legal Constitu-*
 " *tion of this Kingdom, and introduces arbitrary*

Resolved, " *That a Committee be appointed to*
 " *enquire after all such Persons that have offend'd*
 " *against the Right of the Subject.*

SILAS TITUS.

Mr. Speaker;

" **I** Am very glad these Votes have pass'd so
 " unanimously; for Popery and arbitrary Go-
 " vernment can never be set up in this Nation, if
 " we could be sure of frequent Parliaments; and
 " therefore the asserting the Right of the Subject
 " in any Thing, which tends to That, may be of
 " great Use to this Nation. But, Sir, seeing you
 " have taken this Business into your Consideration,
 " I think we may do well to go a little farther
 " with it, even at this Time. I am inform'd some
 " Members of the House are guilty of having
" acted

" acted contrary to these Votes ; and I am of Opinion, that as they were not willing that we should sit here, so that we should be as willing not to have them sit amongst us ; for if it were a great Crime in others, much more in Those, that are chosen to assert the Rights and Liberties of the People. It is very unlikely that Men of such Principles should make good Parliament-Men ; and I think it will very well consist with the Justice of the House to begin with a Reformation amongst ourselves ; and therefore I humbly move we may first proceed against such.

Being commanded to name such Members, he named Sir *Francis Withins*, who, not being in the House, was order'd to attend the next Day ; where, after he was heard in his Place, was order'd to withdraw, and censur'd to receive the Sentence of the House upon his Knees, and to be expell'd the House.

This was the Sense of the House of Commons at that Time, and by the Act declaring the Right of the Subject on the Revolution, it is enacted among other Things, " That it is the Right of the Subject to petition the King ; and all Com-mitments and Prosecutions for such Petitioning are illegal.

Thus is shewn the indubitable Right of the Subject to petition ; but because it will probably be objected, that the Act of the 13th Car. II. Chap. 3. may be a Restraint of that inherent Right in the People ; I shall give the Clauses of the Act itself at full Length, which will give us a plain and infallible Rule to walk by in Petitioning.

It is entitled, *An Act against Tumults and Disorders upon Pretence of preparing and presenting publick Petitions, or other Addresses to his Majesty, or the Parliament.*

And the Preamble recites, " Whereas it hath
 " been found by sad Experience, that tumultuous
 " and other disorderly soliciting and procuring of
 " Hands by private Persons to Petitions, Com-
 " plaints, Remonstrances and Declarations, and
 " other Addresses to the King, or both or either
 " Houses of Parliament, for Alteration of Matters
 " establish'd by Law, Redress of pretended Grie-
 " vances in Church or State, or other publick
 " Concernments, have been made Use of to serve
 " the Ends of factious and seditious Persons, got-
 " ten into Power, to the Violation of the publick
 " Peace ; and have been a great Means of unhappy
 " Wars, Confusions and Calamities in this Na-
 " tion.

Therefore, for preventing the like Mischiefs for
 the future, it is enacted, " That no Person or
 " Persons whatsoever shall from and after the first
 " Day of *August*, 1661, solicit, labour or procure
 " the getting of Hands or other Consent of any
 " Persons above the Number of Twenty, or more,
 " to any Petition, Complaint, Remonstrance, De-
 " clarion or other Addresses to the King, or both
 " or either Houses of Parliament, for Alteration
 " of Matters established by Law in Church or
 " State, unless the Matters thereof have been first
 " consented unto and ordered by three or more
 " Justices of the County, or by the major Part of
 " the Grand Jury of the County, or Division of
 " the County, where the same Matter shall arise, at
 " their publick Assizes or general Quarter Sessions;
 " or, if arising in *London*, by the Lord Mayor,
 " Aldermen and Commons, in Common Council
 " assembled; and that no Person or Persons what-
 " soever shall repair to his Majesty, or both or
 " either Houses of Parliament, upon Pretence of
 " presenting or delivering any Petition, Complaint,

" Remonstrance or Declaration, or other Addresses, accompanied with excessive Numbers of People, at any Time, with above the Number of ten Persons, upon pain of incurring a Penalty not exceeding the Sum of 100*l.* in Money and three Months Imprisonment, without Bail or Mainprize, for every Offence; which Offence to be prosecuted at the Court of King's-Bench, or at the Assize or General Quarter Session, within six Months after the Offence committed and proved by two or more credible Witnesses. And

It is provided, " that this Act, or any Thing therein contained, shall not be construed to extend to debar or hinder any Person or Persons, not exceeding the Number of ten aforesaid, to present any publick or private Grievance or Complaint to any Member or Members of Parliament after his Election, and during the Continuance of the Parliament, or to the King's Majesty, for any Remedy to be thereunto had; nor to extend to any Address whatsoever to his Majesty, by all, or any of the Members of both, or either Houses of Parliament, during the Sitting of Parliament; but that they may enjoy their Freedom of Access to his Majesty, as heretofore hath been used.

So that by this Act it appears, that though the Parliament; being willing to provide against any Inconveniences, which might arise to the Government from tumultuous Petitioning, do not allow any great Numbers to petition for the Alteration of Laws, unless the Matter of the Petition be consented to, in such a Manner, as the Law directs; yet that, nevertheless, in all other Cases they leave the Subject to their free undoubted Liberty, as well knowing that there could arise no possible Inconvenience from it; but, on the contrary, that to

bar the People of that humble Way of making their Wants known might force them upon worse Ways of doing it.

My Lord Chief Justice *Hobart* tells us, “ that it is lawful for any Subject to petition the King for Redress in an humble and modest Manner. “ For, (says he) *Access to the Sovereign must not be shut up in Case of the Subjects Distresses.*” It was one of the Crimes, for which the Spencers were banished by Parliament, that they hindered the King from receiving and answering Petitions from great Men and others; and one of the Articles against the Earl of Strafford, that he issued out a Proclamation and Warrant of Restraint, to inhibit the King’s Subjects to come to the Fountain, their Sovereign, to deliver the Complaints of their Wrongs and Oppressions.

Mr. Finch (late Earl of Aylesford) lays it down in the Bishop’s Trial, that it is the Right of all People, that apprehend themselves aggrieved, to approach his Majesty by Petition; and in the same Trial, says Sergeant Levintz, the Subjects have a Right to petition the King in all their Grievances; so say all our Law Books, and so says the Statute of 13 Cha. II. cap. 5. And a Writer, in Justification of the People’s petitioning in the Year 1679, thus expresseth himself.

“ It never yet was thought seditious, or tumultuous in any Government, for the Subjects, in an humble Manner, to beg that he, who has the only Power to do it, would redress our Grievances. It is the Way by which we apply ourselves to the King of Heaven, who knows all our Wants, and yet expects from us, that we should daily express them to him in humble Petitions; and the Wisdom of the Church, which has appointed Liturgies and Forms of Common Prayer

" Prayer, seems to instruct us, that God is pleased when huge Numbers join in the same Petition. Why should not then suppliant Subjects, with like Humility, and in like Manner, address themselves to the God on Earth? Especially, since Kings cannot know our Desires, or our Grievances, till we our selves inform them what they are. I remember some wicked Counsellors of *Darius* did once obtain a Law to be made, that none should petition any one but the King for thirty Days; but there never was yet found so absurd a Statesman, as to advise a Law, *that Subjects should not supplicate their Prince.* It is probable it would be well for some Favourites, who are near a King, if such a Right could be taken from the People; for then all their false Suggestions and Informations might pass undiscovered; but, it is impossible that a King should long be safe in such a Condition. I will suppose a malicious Statesman, intending to raise a Jealousy in the Mind of the Sovereign, should inform him, in dangerous Times, that he was not beloved by his People, and that he was not to trust them. How could the Subjects, in such a Case, recover the Prince's good Opinion, in the Absence of a legal Representative, but by humble and affectionate Addresses? Or, suppose some good Protestant Prince should be so unfortunate, as to have some Counsellors near him, who are conceal'd, and others, whose Crimes make them fear Parliaments; it is easy to suppose, that the one Sort will be filling his Ears with Stories, that a great Part of his Kingdom are inclined to Popery; and the other Sort, that the best of his Subjects are quite out of Love with Parliaments, as factious and seditious Assemblies. Into what unfortunate Circumstances would such

" a Prince be apt to fall, if his People were precluded from addressing themselves, and opening their Desires to him?

If then the People of *Great Britain* have a Right (and it appears this Right is undoubted) to petition the King for the sitting of Parliaments, and for the Redress of all their Grievances, it will certainly follow that they have a Right to petition a Parliament, setting forth their Hardships and Grievances; and also to lay before their immediate Representatives any Thing, which may be doing in Parliament, or intended to be brought into Parliament; that they apprehend either prejudicial to the Trade, Manufactures and Navigation, or dangerous to the Liberties of the whole Kingdom. The Act of 13 Car. II. cap. 5. is a Proof of This; since it is there declared, " that not any Thing therein contained, shall be construed to extend to debar, or to hinder any Person or Persons, not exceeding the Number of Ten, to present any publick or private Grievance, or Complaint to any Member or Members of Parliament after his Election, and during the Continuance of the Parliament, or to the King's Majesty, for any Remedy to be thereunto had.

And as the People of *Great Britain* have a Right of applying to their Representatives, relating to any publick or private Grievance or Complaint, so there are numberless Instances, which might be produced, that they have constantly made Use of this Right; but I shall content myself with only giving the following very remarkable Applications of this Kind of two great Cities, and two considerable Counties.

To the Hon. Sir Robert Clayton, Knt. Thomas Pilkington, Alderman, Sir Thomas Player, Knt. and William Love, Esq; late (and now chosen) Members of Parliament for this Honourable City of London.

“ **W**E, the Citizens of this City in common Hall assembled, having experienced the great and manifold Services of you, our Representatives in the two last Parliaments, by your faithful and unwearied Endeavours to search into, and discover the Depth of the horrid and hellish Popish Plots; to preserve his Majesty’s Royal Person, the Protestant Religion, and the well-established Government of this Realm; to secure the Meeting and Sitting of frequent Parliaments; to assert our undoubted Rights of petitioning, and to punish such, who would have betrayed those Rights; to promote the happy and long wish’d-for Union amongst all his Majesty’s Protestant Subjects; to repeal the 35th of Elizabeth, and the Corporation Act; and especially for what Progress hath been made towards the Exclusion of all Popish Successors, and, particularly, of *JAMES*, Duke of *York*, whom the Commons of *England* in the two last Parliaments, have declared, and we are greatly sensible is the principal Cause of all the Ruin and Misery impending these Kingdoms in general, and this City in particular. For all which, and other your constant and faithful Management of our Affairs in Parliament, we offer and return to you our most hearty Thanks, being confidently assured that you will not consent to the granting any Money-Supply, until you have effectually secured us against Popery and arbitrary Power; resolving, (by divine Assistance) in Purs-

“ suance of the same Ends, to stand by you with
“ our Lives and Fortunes.

To the Hon. Sir William Pulteney, and Sir William Waller, Knts. unanimously elected Members of the ensuing Parliament for the antient City of Westminster.

“ **W**E, the Inhabitants of this City and the
“ Liberties thereof, assembled, retaining
“ a most grateful and indelible Sense of your pru-
“ dent Zeal in the late Parliament, in searching
“ into the Depth of the horrid and hellish Plots
“ of the Papists against his Majesty's Royal Person,
“ the Protestant Religion, and the Government of
“ the Realm, and in endeavouring to bring the
“ Authors of wicked Councils to condign Punish-
“ ment; and rememb'ring also your faithful Dis-
“ charge of that great Trust reposed in you, in
“ vindicating our undoubted Right of petitioning his
“ Majesty, that Parliaments may sit for the Redress
“ of our Grievances; which hereditary Privilege
“ some bad Men would have wrested out of our
“ Hands, upon whom you have set such a just
“ Brand of Ignominy, as may deter them from
“ the like Attempts for the Time to come. And
“ farther, reflecting upon your vigorous Endeav-
“ ours to secure to us and our Posterity, the Pro-
“ fection of the true Religion, by those just, legal
“ and necessary Expedients, which the great Wis-
“ dom of the two last Parliaments fixed upon, and
“ adhered to; do find our selves obliged to make
“ our open Acknowledgment of, and to return
“ our hearty Thanks for your eminent Integrity
“ and Faithfulness, your indefatigable Labour and
“ Pains in the Premises; not once questioning, but
“ you will maintain the same good Spirit and
“ Zeal

" Zeal to secure his Majesty's Royal Person, and
 " to preserve to us the Protestant Religion (where-
 " in all good Subjects have an Interest) against the
 " secret and subtle Contrivances, and open Assaillants
 " of the common Enemy ; as also our civil Rights
 " and Properties against the Incroachments of ar-
 "bitrary Power. In Pursuance of which great and
 " good Ends, we shall always be ready, as we are
 " obliged, to adhere to you, our honoured Re-
 " presentatives, with the utmost Hazard of our
 " Persons and Estates.

*To the Right Hon. the Lord Russel and Sir Hum-
 phrey Munnox, elected Knights for the Shire of
 Bedford, on the 14th of February, 1680-1.*

" **W**HEN it pleased his Majesty to summon
 " his Peers and Commons, of this his
 " Realm, to meet him at *Westminster* in the last
 " Parliament, we accordingly then chose you to
 " act on our Behalf; and being abundantly sa-
 "tisfy'd, not only in your Courage, Integrity and
 " Prudence in general, but also in your particular
 " Care, and faithful, conscientious Endeavours.
 " 1. To assert our Right of legal petitioning for
 " Redress of our just Grievances, and to punish
 " those, who were studious to betray it. 2. To
 " secure the Meeting and Sitting of frequent Par-
 " liaments (already by Law provided for) for the
 " Preservation of our Lives, Liberties and Estates,
 " and for the Support of his sacred Majesty, and
 " even of the Government itself. 3. To repeal
 " the *Act of the 35th of Elizabeth*, whereby all
 " true Protestants might possibly, in Case of a Po-
 " pish Successor (from which God of his infinite
 " Mercy defend us) be liable to utter Ruine, Ab-
 " juration, and perpetual Banishment. 4. To se-

“ cure his Majesty’s Royal Person, the Protestant Religion and well-established Government of this Realm. 5. To destroy and root out Popery. 6. To use the most effectual Means conduced to so good an End, *viz.* The Exclusion of a Popish Successor, both by Name and otherwise. We have therefore now chosen you again to represent us, in like Manner, in this Parliament called to be held at *Oxford*; in full Trust and Confidence that, with the same Courage and Integrity, you will persevere in the same good Endeavours, pursuing all Things that (by joint Consent of your Fellow-Members) shall be found for our publick Good and Safety; and in full Assurance that you will not consent to the Disposal of any of our Money, till we are effectually secured against Popery and arbitrary Power, do resolve (by divine Assistance) to stand by you therein.

* *To Arthur Onslow and George Evelyn, Esqrs. elected Knights for the County of Surrey in the ensuing Parliament; whose Session is appointed at Oxon the 21st of March 1680-1.*

“ WE the Freeholders of the County of Surrey, having in two former Parliaments chosen you to be our Representatives; and being satisfy’d in your Faithfulness and Care to preserve the Protestant Religion, his Majesty’s royal Person, the good Government of the Nation by Law, and in securing our Rights and Liberties; for your real Endeavours herein we jointly return our hearty Thanks; and have now chosen you again, to be our Representatives in this Parliament. And though we have not the least Suspicion or Doubt of your Wisdom and Integrity,

“ Integrity, in acting for our common Good (now,
 “ as we apprehend, in great Danger) yet we judge
 “ it expedient to discover our Minds and hearty
 “ Desires in the Particulars following, *viz.*

“ 1. That you'll continue vigorously to prosecute the horrid Popish Plotters, and endeavour that they may be brought to condign Punishment; especially all Sham-Plotters, which we esteem the worst of Villains.

“ 2. That you will insist on a Bill for excluding all Popish Successors to the Crown; which we believe an effectual Means (under God) for preserving the Protestant Religion, his Majesty's Life and Tranquility, with the well-establish'd Government of the Kingdom, and securing it to our Posterity.

“ 3. That you endeavour passing a Bill for regulating Elections and the Frequency of Parliaments, (for dispatching of those weighty Affairs of the Nation that shall from Time to Time be before them) which we judge the best Prevention of an arbitrary Power.

“ 4. That you persevere in asserting our Right of legal petitioning, for removing our just Grievances, and pass a Bill (if there be no Law) to punish such that shall obstruct it.

“ 5. That you will use your utmost Endeavours to bring in a Bill against Pluralities of Church Livings, Non-Residency, and scandalous Ministers; of which there are too many in most Counties.

“ 6. That you will endeavour to preserve his Majesty's Person, to root out Popery, and prevent arbitrary Government; and use your utmost Endeavours to unite his Majesty's Protestant Subjects.

" Lastly, that you will not consent to any Money Bill, till the aforesaid Particulars be effect-ed; and in so doing, we hereby promise to stand by you with our Lives and Fortunes.

~~any Person's following Particulars were whereby recommended to the same~~
It is to the same Purpose that almost all the Counties, Cities and Boroughs apply'd to their Representatives in the Year 1681; and some of them recommended to their Representatives the following Articles.

" That you will use your utmost Endeavour to put a Brand upon those abominable Monsters, which were PENSIONERS in the late long Parliament, that thereby the *Generations to come* may be deterred from attempting the like unheard-of Villany.

" That some Laws may be made for the preventing the Excesses, and Exorbitances in the Election of Members of Parliament, and of undue Returns; and that some effectual Provision may be made for the meeting of frequent Parliaments, and for their sitting to redress Grievances; and to make such wholesome Laws as shall be necessary for the Welfare of the Nation.

" That you will purge out the Corruptions, which abound in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament; that you will be sparing of our Money until we are effectually secured against Popery and arbitrary Power; and a sure Foundation laid of an happy Union between the King and his People, by the Removal of those evil Instruments, who thro' private Interest and Ambition make it their Business to divide their Affections.

This was the Manner of the People's applying to their Representatives in former Times; and because

cause it may be seen that a *Regard* was *had* by the Representatives themselves to these timely and *right* Applications of the People, it may be necessary to give the two following Speeches, which were made on the Occasion ; the one by a Representative of the City of *London*, and the other of the County of *Bedford*.

Sir ROBERT CLAYTON.

“ I confess I have been full of Expectation of
 “ some Expedient to secure the Life of the
 “ King and the Protestant Religion, without the
 “ Bill for excluding the Duke, &c. My Expecta-
 “ tion is from those, who opposed the Expedient of
 “ the Bill (for I can call it no otherwise). I have
 “ in my weak Judgment weighed all Expedients I
 “ have heard of, and they seem to me all to be
 “ a Breach of the Constitution of the Government,
 “ and to throw us into Disorder and Confusion.
 “ I have heard it has been *an antient Usage*, that
 “ *Members have consulted their Cities, Boroughs,*
 “ *and Counties in any Thing of Weight, as well as*
 “ *Money, before they resolved it.* The Practice was
 “ *good*, and I wish it were *continued*; we can dis-
 “ charge our *Trust* no better than in *observing*
 “ *the Direction of those, who sent us hither.* I re-
 “ ceived an Address from the City of *London*,
 “ (having the Honour to be one of their Repre-
 “ sentatives) in the Matter of this Bill of exclu-
 “ ding the Duke, &c. I heartily wish some Ex-
 “ pedient may be found out to save our Religion
 “ without it. But I must pursue my Trust; there-
 “ fore I move a Bill may be brought in to ex-
 “ clude all Popish Successors, and particularly
 “ *JAMES Duke of York.*

Lord RUSSEL.

“ I Have the same Obligation upon me as the
 “ worthy Person that spoke last, from the
 “ County I have the Honour to serve for. I have
 “ been long of Opinion that nothing but this Bill
 “ can secure us from Popery. In the long Par-
 “ liament 'twas said that the Duke was a Papist,
 “ and the Danger of his Power will be more now,
 “ and every Day informs us of the sad Conse-
 “ quences of it. I should be glad if any Thing
 “ but this Bill could secure us; I know nothing
 “ else can, and therefore I humbly move for it.

Thus have I laid before you, in this public Manner, the People's Right of *petitioning* and *applying* to their Representatives, and I hope shewn that you were as wrong in making the *Declaration* you did, as in having *embarked* your self in a *Scheme* so universally disagreeable to the *Opinion* and *Inclination* of your Fellow Subjects, and shall not detain you nor thy Readers any longer than to submit the following Passage, wrote by the *greatest Man* * of his Time, to yours and their Consideration.

“ A gradual Method of destroying our Nation's
 “ Right is the most dangerous in its Consequences.
 “ The Safety, which our Forefathers, for many
 “ hundred Years, enjoy'd under this Part of the
 “ Law (Juries) especially, and have transmitted
 “ to us, is so apparent to the meanest Capacity,
 “ that whoever shall go about to take it away or
 “ give it up, is like to meet with the Fate of
 “ *Ishmael*, to have every *Man's Hand* against him,
 “ because

" because he is against every Man. Few Men at
 " first see the Danger of little Changes in Funda-
 " mentals ; and Those, who design them, usually
 " act with so much Craft, as besides the giving spe-
 " cious Reasons, they take great Care that the true
 " Reason shall not appear. Every Design therefore
 " of changing the Constitution ought to be most
 " warily observed, and *timely* opposed ; and it is
 " the Interest of the People, that such Fundamen-
 " tals should be duly guarded, for whose Benefit
 " they were first so *carefully* laid.

SIR, Yours, &c.

The Counties and Corporations throughout *England* were generally so well satisfy'd with the Proceedings of the Honourable House of Commons in the Parliament, held at *Westminster*, Octob. 21, 1680, prorogued the 10th, and dissolved the 18th of *January* following, that as soon as they heard of its Dissolution, they resolved to chuse the very same Persons again, and contrived to make their Elections, without putting the Gentlemen chosen to any Charge, thereby to crush the pernicious Practices in the Choice of Members, which, by the Continuance of one Parliament so many Years, had been introduced in that Reign, not only to the scandalizing of the Nation, but the almost destroying the very Constitution of our Parliaments. The following are Copies of four of the many Letters, which were wrote at that Time.

A LETTER of Thanks from the Grand Jury
of the County of Worcester to the Knights of
this Shire.

Honoured Sirs,

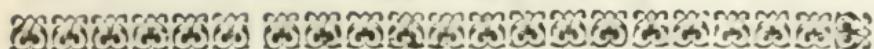
WE, the Grand Jury of the County of Worcester, at the general Quarter Sessions of the Peace held for the said County, do hereby, in the Behalf of our selves, and the County, for which we serve, return you our most hearty Thanks for your constant and unwearied Attendance upon the Service of his Majesty and your Country, in Parliament, in a Time of such imminent Danger; and especially of your Concurrence in those Methods, that have been taken for the Security of his Majesty's sacred Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Properties of his Majesty's Subjects, against the hellish Plots of the Papists, and their Adherents; and we do humbly request your Continuance, and shall ever pray for the Preservation of the Person of our most gracious Sovereign, and that God will direct and unite his Councils; and, upon all Occasions, testify what we are,

Honoured Sirs,

Your very humble, obliged

and thankful Servants.

This was signed by all the said Grand Jury, and directed to the Honourable Colonel *Samuel Sandys*, and *Thomas Foley*, Esquires.



A LETTER, from the antient and loyal Borough of North-Allerton in Yorkshire, to their Burgesses in Parliament.

Honoured Sirs,

THE unexpected and sudden News of this Day's Post preventing us from sending those due Acknowledgments, which the Greatnes of your Services for publick Good have merited from us, we have no better Way, now left us, to express our Gratitude, and the highest Resentment of your Actions before, and in your last Sessions of Parliament, than to manifest our Approbation thercof, by an Assurance, that if a Dissolution of this present Parliament happen, since you have evidenced so sufficiently your Affections to his Majesty's royal Person, and Endeavours for the preserving the Protestant Religion, our Laws and Liberties, we are now resolved, if you are pleased to *continue* with us, to *continue* you as our Representatives; and do therefore beg your Acceptance thereof; and farther, that you will continue your Station during this Prorogation, faithfully assuring you, that none of us desire to give, or occasion the *Expence* or *Trouble* of a Journey in order to your Election (if such happen) being so sensible of the too great Expence you have been at already, in so carefully discharging the Trust and Confidence reposed in you, by

GENTLEMEN,

*Your obliged, and
faithful Friends and Servants.*

Sign'd by the Burgesses and Electors of North-
Allerton, and directed to Sir Gilbert Gerrard and
Sir Henry Calverly, Burgesses for the Borough of
North-Allerton in Yorkshire.



A LETTER from the famous Town of
Kingston upon Hull, to Sir Michael Wharton,
Knt. and William Gee, Esq; Burgesses for that
Town in the late Parliament.

Worthy Gentlemen,

WE understand you have signify'd to our
Magistrates your Willingness to represent
us in the ensuing Parliament, and that they have
gratefully accepted of your generous Offer ; which
if they had communicated to us, our joint Com-
pliance would have been readily manifested ; for
we are so sensible of your Integrity in the late Par-
liament, by your indefatigable Care and Pains, in
endeavouring the Security of his Majesty's sacred
Person, as also our Religion and Property, that
we cannot but rejoice you are pleased again to
offer us that Kindness, which your former good
Service hath engaged us to become Suitors for.
We do therefore return you our hearty Thanks ;
and you may be confident, without your Appearance,
or the least Charge, to have all our Suffra-
ges, Nemine Contradicente, and will, as our Obli-
gations bind us, stand by your Proceedings, as be-
comes loyal Subjects and true Englishmen ; sub-
scribing ourselves

Your obliged, and
affectionate Friends and Servants.

Which

Which was subscribed by Matthew Johnson, Esq; Sheriff of the said Town, and 122 more of the most eminent Burgesses and Electors.



A LETTER from Lewis in Sussex on the like Occasion.

To their late worthy Representatives, Richard Bridget, and Thomas Pelham, Esqrs.

Gentlemen,

WE are sensible of the great Trouble and Charge you have been at, as our Representatives, and of your great Care and Constancy; for which we return you our hearty Thanks, with our earnest Request, that you would be pleased once more to favour us in the same Capacity; and you will thereby much oblige,

Your faithful

Friends and Servants.

This was subscribed by near 150 of the Inhabitants of Lewis aforesaid.

The next House of Commons, which was summoned to meet at Oxford, no sooner assembled, but a Member * made a Speech to this Effect.

When there has been Corruption, and all have not done their Duty, you should distinguish and give Thanks to Them, that have. Formerly you have done it to Officers for doing their Duty

* Mr. SWINFEN.

Duty in Suppression of Popery, when through the Corruption of the Times some have not done their Duty. Nothing is more Parliamentary than to return Thanks to Those, who have freely and without Expence chosen you Members ; and I desire that the Members so elected may be ordered to send their Thanks to Those, who chose them.

— And the following Vote passed:

“ It being represented to this House by several Members, that many Counties, Cities and Boroughs have freely, without Charge, elected many of the Members in this present Parliament, according to the ancient Constitution of Election of Members to serve in Parliament ; wherefore this House doth give their Thanks to such Counties, Cities and Boroughs for their Election.

F I N I S,



